1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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● 843 From the time that a child is born and even before its birth, it and its mother are subjected to a mass of interdictions or tapus. One could not even leave on the road, where the pregnant woman was apt to pass, the least filth, the least debris, for fear of the great harm to her and to her child.

Should an inmate of a house, in which there was a woman with child, go out at night and return, he had to chew *noni* leaves as he approached and spit them about in front of the house before entering. Thus were evil spirits, called *fanaua*, prevented from entering the house with a person and so being free to enter the woman and subsequently kill her and her child. [776] *Fanaua* were evil female demons who entered the bodies of women, causing them to swell as in pregnancy and killing both mothers and children at the time when delivery should take place. (See Spirits.)

844 A special house called the *fa'e taina* was built on the same platform with the sleeping house, or near it. Into this, the mother retired at a time [343] sufficiently in advance of the expected delivery to make sure that it should not occur by accident in the sleeping house. If such accident did occur, the sleeping house would have to suffer the fate of the *fa'e taina*, which was burned. Modern informants say that the father stayed in the *fa'e taina* with the mother, particularly at night, on account of the danger from evil spirits, *vehine hae* being supposed to steal both mother and child. The natives say that anyone could enter the *fa'e taina*. Nowadays at the time of birth, the mother stays in such a house from a few days to a few weeks. Garcia says (14, pp. 74-5) that the child was kept here with the mother for several weeks, sometimes for several months, and further, that even the family could enter only with a mass of ceremonies.

Birth is so rare in the Marquesas nowadays that I never had the opportunity of investigating first-hand any of the practices surrounding it, except the building of a birth house, for no child was ever born in any locality in which I was at the time staying. As has been said, the mother retired into the birth house, which was prepared well in advance, sometime before delivery was expected. When the labor began, female relatives and frequently the husband aided her. If labor was severe, the husband would raise her to a squatting position and climb upon her back, pressing on her upper abdomen with his knees. If there was danger that the child would be born feet first, assistants beat upon anything available, hoping that by making this great din, they would bring about a normal birth. One informant said that only female relatives of the woman could aid her, [759] because of the *tapu* on blood. If she had no female relatives, she was left alone. There were no midwives. Langsdorff says (18, pp. 151-2): "A large piece of cloth which they make from the paper mulberry tree is

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not I do not know; but all *tokai* had their names. According to Père Siméon (7) a forked tree was erected on the *tokai* and live chickens were hung in its branches. On some *tokai* there were images on the heads of which were stone caps (*mahu*), on top of which food offerings were placed. These *tokai* served as places for disposal of contaminated clothing and for objects of a defiling nature that had been associated with women.

According to Père Jean (19) fish and pigs' heads were suspended in the branches of the trees on *tokai*. On both Ua Pou and Ua Huka, it was ascertained that fishermen, especially, made offerings of fish at the *tokai*. I never learned, however, of any direct connection of these spirits with the fishing industry. It appears that the object of the offerings was to attract the evil spirits, thus keeping them from attacking women; and to propitiate them, so that they would not seek vengeance. Gifts for this purpose were called *ti au hanaua* (8). Dordillon characterizes these gifts as bait. These sacred places were especially forbidden to pregnant women, for the natives believed that the unborn child and probably the woman herself would die if she went upon such a sacred place.

Death of women in pregnancy appears always to have been very common in the Marquesas, and it is this natural phenomenon that is the basis of the *fanaua* belief. It was thought on Nuku Hiva that such spirits killed women by entering the womb when the woman was with child, or by entering it and merely giving her the appearance of being with child by causing a swelling. It is said that *fanaua* attacked in this way only women who were with child or who had previously borne children.

The following excellent notes regarding familiar spirits were gathered by Mr. Linton at Atu Ona. I doubt that the term *fanaua* was used broadly in ancient days to include the types of familiars here described. It is possible that the modern natives, some of whom believe in these things implicitly, may, nevertheless, be in some confusion with regard to the words that they use in describing them. The types of spirits having to do with the spirit phenomena described for the most part in this account in Linton's notes are referred to in the old manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries always as *etua*, and the use of *fanaua* is restricted implicity to the spirits associated with women dying in childbirth, described above. The account (20) is as follows:

> The spirits known as *fanaua* appear to be the souls of human beings who have died. They are always considered male and are known by personal names. Why some spirits should become *fanaua* could not be ascertained, but they vary in rank, those of chiefs being the most dangerous.
>
> *Fanaua* seem to have been of three classes: hereditary, personal and those controlled by the dead. The hereditary *fanaua* were the protectors of their female de-

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. 1804. May.
I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his
[843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be
755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come
776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the
782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

Life Cycle of the Individual

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. [761] They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of [158] neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil in- 844 fluences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

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detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions. 161 114

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%. 162

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child. 843● 842

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided 841 842 [797]

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits,
lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature,
it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa,
hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is
doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During
a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife
was called upon to treat two young women who were con-
tinually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result
of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites.
The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally
resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy
burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by
the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback
riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to
treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody
discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and
had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door,
without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to
note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have
been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants
admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were
ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]